

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 1845

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TU, GR, CY
SUBJECT: TURKISH DOUBTS ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS

REF: ANKARA 1844

1. AFTER MEETING WITH MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG MORNING MARCH 11,
I MET BRIEFLY WITH MFA DIRECTOR GREEK-CYPRIOI AFFAIRS
GUVENDIREN AT HIS REQUEST IN ORDER FOR HIM TO EXPAND ON
CONCERNS ELEKDAG HAD EXPRESSED EARLIER. GUVENDIREN SAID
THE GOT HAD SEVERAL BASES FOR ITS BELIEF THAT GREEK PRIMIN
CARAMANLIS IS NOT SUPPORTING A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM:

-- FIRST, THE GREEK AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA HAS FOR
THE LAST TWENTY DAYS COMPLETELY DROPPED OUT OF THE
NEGOTIATION PROCESS. HE IS NOT HELPING TO INSURE THAT
THE GREEK-CYPRIOIS COME UP WITH A REASONABLE PROPOSAL
AND HE WILL NOT EVEN MEET WITH UN SYG'S SPECIAL REPRE-
SENTATIVE PEREZ DE CUELLAR.

--. ECOND, PAPADOPOULOS' STATEMENT IN LARNACA MARCH 8
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ANKARA 01845 111553Z

SUGGESTING TURKISH CYPRIOTS SHOULD PRESENT A TERRITORIAL
MAP AT VIENNA.

-- THIRD, RECENT REPORTS THAT APAPDOPOULOS, IN PRIVATE
CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN DIPLOMATS IN NICOSIA, HAD BEEN
HIGHLY CRITICAL OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERCOMMUNAL
TALKS. (GUVENDIREN ALSO SAID THAT PAPADOPOULOS IS

DIRECTLY CONNECTED TO GREEK PRIMIN CARAMANLIS THROUGH HIS FATHER-IN-LAW AND THEREFORE TURKS INTERPRET PAPADOPOULOS' RECENT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE AS REFLECTION OF PRESSURE FROM CARAMANLIS.)

--. FOURTH, GREEK NEWSPAPERS WHICH ARE KNOWN TO BE CLOSE TO CARAMANLIS HAVE IN LAST TWO DAYS BEEN QUOTING CARAMANLIS ABOUT THE THREAT OF "TURKISH PROVOCATIONS" AND THE NEED FOR GREECE TO RESPOND IF SUCH PROVOCATIONS OCCUR. GUVENDIREN SAID THE SAME KIND OF STORIES WERE BEING PUT OUT BY A CONFIDANT OF CARAMANLIS WHO WORKS AS A TV COMMENTATOR.

2. GUVENDIREN CONTINUED BY SAYING THAT PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAS TOLD TURKISH-CYPRIOTS THAT HE BELIEVES THE "ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE GREEK CYPRIOTS" IS NOT THE SAME AS IT WAS DURING CLIFFORD'S VISIT. PEREZ REPORTEDLY HAS TOLD DENKTASH THAT THE ONLY SUPPORT MAKARIOS HAS FOR FOLLOWING THROUGH ON HIS PROMISE TO CLIFFORD COMES FROM AKEL. (GUVENDIREN INTERJECTED THAT GOT DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT TO BE THE CASE.)

3. ACCORDING TO GOT ANALYSIS, CARAMANLIS IS SABOTAGING THE VIENNA TALKS ON TWO FRONTS. FIRST, IN CYPRUS, BY NOT ENCOURAGING THE GREEK-CYPRIOTS TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH AND SECOND, IN THE AEGEAN, BY TALKING OF TURKISH PROVOCATION AND THREATENING WAR. GUVENDIREN CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS ARE WORKING HARD TO COME UP WITH A POSITIVE AND REASONABLE PROPOSAL, BUT HE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ANKARA 01845 111553Z

SAID HE IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF SUCY A PROPOSAL IF PAPDOPOULOS CONTINUES TO MAKE THE KIND OF STATEMENT HE DID IN LARNACA MARCH 8. HE SAID THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS WILL DO AS MUCH AS THEY CAN BUT IF THE GREEK-CYPRIOTS COME TO VIENNA WITH NO CONCRETE PROPOSAL, THERE IS VERY LITTLE THEY CAN DO.

4. IN THIS LATTER REGARD, HE URGED THAT SECGEN WALDHEIM BE FULLY INFORMED OF MAKARIOS' COMMITMENT TO CLIFFORD TO PRODUCE A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL AT VIENNA. OTHERWISE, HE SAID, THE TALKS COULD BREAK DOWN AND ONCE AGAIN THE TURKS WOULD BE BLAMED. I RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT CLEARLY THE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL AT VIENNA MUST BE GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS BY BOTH SIDES LEADING ULTIMATELY TO A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT SECRETARY CLIFFORD HAD WORKED SO HARD TO GET COMMITMENTS FROM BOTH SIDES.

5. I POINTED OUT THAT IF THE TALKS SHOULD FAIL, HOWEVER, IT SEEMED TO ME IT WOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT FROM TURKISH POINT

OF VIEW THAT THE CAUSE FOR THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS BE CLEARLY ON THE OTHER SIDE. GUVENDIREN SAID HE AGREED WHOLEHEARTEDLY BUT THAT IN THE PAST THE GREEKS AND GREEK-CYPRIOTS HAD ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO MANEUVER THE SITUATION SO THAT SUCH THINGS APPEARED TO BE THE FAULT OF THE TURKS AND HE WAS CONCERNED THAT THAT MIGHT OCCUR AGAIN.

6. HE THEN SAID THAT GOT WAS TRYING TO DO EVERYTHING IT COULD TO INSURE THAT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS UPHELD THEIR PART. HE SAID (OFF THE RECORD) THAT FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL HAD ASKED IF THEREWERE SOME WAY GUVENDIREN COULD GO TO VIENNA AND SIT BEHIND DENKTASH TO INSURE HE DID NOT DEVIATE FROM THE PROPOSAL WHICH WAS BEING WORKED OUT. GUVENDIREN SAID THIS WOULD, OF COURSE, NOT BE POSSIBLE, BUT HE WOULD BE PRESENT IN VIENNA AND WOULD DO EVERYTHING HE COULD TO KEEP DENKTASH ON TRACK.
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 ANKARA 01845 111553Z

7. COMMENT: THE TURKISH CONCERN THAT CARAMANLIS IS NOT TRULY INTERESTED IN A SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS IS NOT NEW; HOWEVER, IT CURRENTLY SEEMS TO HAVE BECOME OF EVEN GREATER CONCERN THAN THEIR CHRONIC FEAR THAT MAKARIOS WOULD UNDERMINE ANY AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT BE REACHED. IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH TURKS, I HAVE CONFINED MYSELF TO SAYING THAT KNOWLEDGEABLE US OFFICIALS DO NOT AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT AND POINTING OUT THAT IN ANY EVENT THE TURKS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PRESENT A FORTHCOMING POSITION REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE OTHER SIDE IS DOING. HOWEVE, AS I HAVE OFTEN INDICATED TO AMBASSADOR KUBISCH PRIVATELY, I SHARE TO A CERTAT EXTENT THE TURKISH CONCERN THAT GREECE MAY WELL NOT WANT A SOLUTION. THE QUESTION IN MY MIND IS WHY, GIVEN THE RATHER SMALL GAINS THAT WOULD COME TO THE GREEKS AND GREEK-CYPRIOTS UNDER MY PRESENTLY POSSIBLE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, EITHER MAKARIOS OR CARAMANLIS WOULD BE WILLING TO GIVE UP THE ONE MEASURE THEY CONSIDER TO BE VERY EFFECTIVE IN RESTRAINING TURKISH "AGGRESSIVE IMPULSES"--THAT IS, THE U.S. EMBARGO ON TURKEY--AND SETTLE SHORT. IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL FOR US HERE TO HAVE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSIES ATHENS AND NICOSIA VIEWS ABOUT HOW BEST WE CAN COUNTER THIS ARGUMENT HERE.
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